

SOCIALISM
Is the public ownership and democratic operation of all utilities, services and enterprises that are public in their nature.

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OUR PURPOSE
Is to teach Socialism and organize the people politically and industrially to bring Socialism.

EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

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Socialist Party Makes Clean Sweep in Reading

Bury Old Parties by Plurality of Nearly 5,000—Elect All Candidates

The workers of Reading, Pa., a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants, have taken their local government into their own hands! By a vote almost 5,000 greater than the highest vote cast for the capitalist candidates the Socialists and trade unionists of Reading elected the following: J. Henry Stump, Mayor; James H. Maurer, and George W. Snyder, members of the city council; William C. Hovetter, city treasurer; Walter R. Hollinger, city controller; Raymond S. Hofes, and George D. Snyder, members of the school board.

A Landslide
The Socialist and labor vote was a landslide. Every ward was carried by the Socialists. The only Socialist city-wide candidate to suffer defeat was A. J. Frezeman, candidate for school director, who was nosed out by Andrew J. Fink, Republican. A large number of precinct and ward officers, including a constable in the Sixth ward were won by the Socialists.

The Results
The following table gives the vote of the Socialist, Republican and Democratic parties on the city-wide candidates:

MAYOR	
Stump (S.)	12,146
Stauff (R.)	7,199
Sharman (D.)	5,254
Stump's plurality	
Stump	4,947
Sharman	6,892
CITY COUNCIL	
Maurer (S.)	11,912
Snyder (S.)	11,717
Wetherhold (R.)	7,374
Ruth (R.)	6,981
Witman (D.)	4,970
Schofer (D.)	4,670
Maurer's plurality over	
Wetherhold	4,538
Snyder's plurality over	
Ruth	4,736

CITY TREASURER	
Hovetter (S.)	8,355
Kersner (D.)	8,272
Reider (R.)	7,330
Hovetter's plurality over	
Kersner	123
Reider's plurality over	
Kersner	450
CITY CONTROLLER	
Hollinger (S.)	9,304
Menges (D.)	7,434
Downard (R.)	7,431
Hollinger's plurality over	
Menges	1,870
Downard's plurality over	
Hollinger	1,857

SCHOOL BOARD	
Hofes (S.)	11,898
Fink (R.)	10,559
Snyder (S.)	10,118
Frezeman (S.)	8,961
High (R.)	8,854
Deninger (D.)	5,987
Haines (R.)	5,925
Hintz (D.)	5,711
Werner (D.)	5,319
Hofes' plurality over	
Frezeman	2,937
Fink's plurality over	
Frezeman	1,598
Frezeman's plurality over	
Frezeman	1,182

Have Complete Possession
The victory leaves the Socialists in complete possession of the city government of Reading. This is the first American city of importance where Socialists have won complete power. Milwaukee has had Socialist mayors for years, but never a majority of the city council.

Labor Great Factor
Among the factors contributing to this splendid result were the united and loyal support of organized labor in Reading. Practically all the unions endorsed the Socialist candidates and worked hard for their election. Mayor-elect Stump is the vice-president of the Reading Trades and Labor Assembly; Councilman-elect, James H. Maurer is president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. William C. Hovetter, elected city treasurer and Walter C. Hollinger, who was elected city controller, are members of the cigar-makers union. Raymond S. Hofes, of the incoming school board, is the

WE MUST MAKE GOOD

BY J. HENRY STUMP
(Socialist Mayor-Elect, Reading, Pa.)

Reading has set a new standard in municipal politics. With the election of three out of five legislative officials, it is the first city in the nation to be completely governed by Socialists, and the eyes of the nation are centered upon it.

To the Socialists of Reading and to all independent-minded voters who helped to elect us, and on behalf of my colleagues and the members of the Socialist party, I renew the pledge of service given before election day.

WE WILL MAKE GOOD!
We realize that the task to which the people of this city have set us is not an easy one. We have been placed in charge of local affairs after the administrations which preceded us succeeded in accumulating a city and school debt of \$10,000,000. We are faced with the task of adjusting an assessment which has aroused more resentment among the rank and file of our fellow citizens than any other public event in the history of our city.

We will be compelled to complete unpopular plans and programs which have been started by our predecessors. We will be called upon to take action for the convenience and health of the people.

We are elated by our magnificent victory. We are sobered by the responsibilities which confront us. But we will make good because we will give our full time and all our energy and intelligence to the one task of giving service to the plain people who assigned us to the important offices we soon will fill.

We are the servants of the people of Reading, not their masters. For that reason we appeal to every man and woman within the confines of our city for their unstinted co-operation and support. As public officials we will be conducting YOUR business, not our own, and we will conduct it honestly and in the open. Everything we undertake will be done with the move quickly and heedlessly in anything, but we will strive to act intelligently and with certainty in all that we do. We have been honored with the confidence of our fellow citizens of all political faiths and we are ambitious to show that their confidence has not been misplaced.

But there is another reason, and a selfish one, why **WE WILL WORK TO MAKE GOOD.** It is this: Every Socialist in America will be depending upon us to make good, because our success will add prestige to the Socialist movement everywhere. For that reason I appeal to every Socialist in particular to continue to support us in office as they have done in party work.

WE MUST MAKE GOOD! We, who have been elected to conduct the business of our city are the pioneers of working class political independence everywhere. No effort will be too severe, no task will be too exacting, no sacrifice of personal comforts and conveniences will be too great to prove to the world that workers in office can serve their fellow citizens efficiently and that Socialists can faithfully and ably use political power in such a manner that the greatest good will be secured for the greatest number.

Can't Beat The Dutch,
Berger Wires Maurer
Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger wired his personal congratulations to James H. Maurer, in the following message: "Congratulations and many happy returns. They can't beat the Dutch and surely not the Pennsylvania Dutch. They will, in the end, always be found in the advance guard of progress. The main thing now is to hold your ground. Don't yield an inch."
(Signed)
—Victor L. Berger.

The Tax Issue
Another factor that contributed to victory was the rank injustice of the city assessment system which placed the burden of the taxes on the poor and lightened it for the rich. This was made a special issue of the campaign by the Socialist and Labor forces and won many votes to the Socialist candidates.

Victory Significant
The victory is especially significant in view of the present labor-political situation in Pennsylvania. The smash against the Miners' union by injunction judges and company thugs and terrorists has caused the A. F. of L. to call a special political conference of Pennsylvania labor. Thousands of trade unionists in Pennsylvania are now ripe for independent political action. The Socialist party and the Pennsylvania Labor party will push this issue to the limit. This Reading victory will be a great influence on the workers.

The Reading victory has demonstrated that the Socialists can come back. In the campaign just before the election the street meetings were fully as good as in the best days of Socialism before the war. The interest in Socialism was widespread and intense among the workers. America can have many Readings if the Socialists will get busy.

The best part of this story is still to be told and that is that Stump, Snyder and myself were elected by an actual majority over our Republican and Democratic opponents. And this happened yesterday where in 1919 they wanted to tar and feather us, burn us at the stake or deport us. Three of those who defeated were at that time one hundred per centers in the mob anxious to get us. The world do move after all."

The subject of Maurer's address at Temple Hall on the afternoon of December 18 will be "What I Saw in Soviet Russia." Admission will be 35 cents and any surplus accruing from the meeting will go to help the Socialist Party. Party members are invited to help make this meeting a big success by boosting it and selling tickets.

The best way to close the Debs Memorial period is to buy a Debs Memorial Voluntary Assessment stamp.

—Eugene Victor Debs.

75,000 Citizens of Buffalo Vote for Avowed Socialist

Average Socialist Gain for Other Candidates is 1,500 over Preceding Election

BUFFALO.—Frank C. Perkins, Socialist, has been elected President of the City Council by a vote of 74,847. His opponent, Daniel J. Sweeney, Democrat, received a vote of 51,401. The Socialist vote for other offices is much smaller, the average being 6,142, but this is a gain of 1,500 votes over that received by Socialist candidates last year.

What is significant regarding the vote for Perkins is that anti-Socialist prejudice has counted for little in the election. The candidates do not appear to have been designated but the enemies of Perkins gave a wide publicity to the Socialist affiliations of Perkins while he frankly asserted his Socialist views on every occasion in this election, as he has in others.

Moreover, the Socialists brought the Socialist Mayor, Milwaukee, Daniel W. Hoan, to Buffalo, for a number of meetings and Hoan urged support of Perkins as a Socialist candidate. An amusing phase of the campaign is the fact that the Republicans applied the candidacy of Perkins, possibly in the hope of driving him from his Socialist affiliations. When it became apparent that Perkins had rejected none of his Socialist views leading Republicans organized a fight against him. His vote therefore was obtained in spite of a two-party opposition and this adds to the striking character of his victory.

The return of Perkins to office means possession of a power only second to that of the office of Mayor. Perkins is an electrical engineer and an inventor and holds membership in American, European and international technical societies. He has perfected a number of electrical appliances and electro-chemical processes for which he has been granted patents. Some fifteen years ago Perkins joined the Socialist Party in Buffalo.

Socialist Polls Big Vote in Boston

BOSTON.—After one of the finest and most effective Socialist campaigns that has been waged in Boston for twenty years, the results of Tuesday's election have encouraged the local organization.

The contest that aroused great interest was that of Joseph Bearak for Councilman in the 14th Ward. It was a contest that has been waged for twenty years, the results of Tuesday's election have encouraged the local organization.

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Reading Victory Shows Upward Trend of Socialism, Says Berger

"There can be no doubt about the upward trend of the Socialist party," Congressman Victor L. Berger, national chairman of the Socialist party, commented on the Socialist victory in Reading.

"During the war and after, our party was caught between the upper millstone of capitalist governmental oppression and the nether millstone of Communist agitation."

Nation Needs New Party
"But the fact remains that the United States needs a new party—needs it badly. The two old parties are now one, although still sailing under two labels. There is no fundamental principle, however, to distinguish the Republican from the Democratic party."

"For democracy to survive, it is necessary to have a big strong opposition party founded on principle, in our country. I believe that party will be the Socialist party, although I do not care under what name such a party will win out so long as the people get the substance."

Elections Indicate Trend
"The election results in Reading and Buffalo clearly show that we have reached the turn of the road and that America will soon join the worldwide movement of western civilized nations; and in time lead it."

German Socialism Gains on Eve of National Election

Triumph Seen As Socialists Win Tremendous Victories in Local Contests

Berlin, Nov. 11.—Today marked the beginning of Germany's national election campaign. The Republicans generally, and the Social Democrats particularly, were jubilant, while the Monarchists were dejected, and the leaders of the right wing parties troubled when the local test elections held showed an important swing to the left.

Beginning today, all the parties will conduct national campaigns for next year's parliamentary elections, and also will begin proposing candidates for the presidency. It is certain that President Paul von Hindenburg will not run again. The old field marshal does not choose to run because of his age—he is eighty—and the entire country realizes he cannot be drafted for that reason.

Socialists Winners
Complete results from the former duchy of Hesse, the Free State of Danzig, and Bremen show that the greatest gains were for the Social Democrats and the greatest losses for the Nationalists. The Communists lost heavily in Danzig, and in Poland they lost one-third of their electorate. Eighty per cent of the voters went to the polls in Bremen, where the Social Democrats made their biggest gains. Only fifty per cent of the people voted in the duchy of Hesse.

At Sunday's voting the Social Democrats showed a considerable increase, the left wing parties getting exactly the same number of seats as the right wing parties. The Socialists nearly 100 more votes to give them sixty-one seats, which are expected when the sailors' vote comes in, while the middle class parties will have thirty-nine.

The middle class leaders, as well as the Nationalists, claim that their losses were due to the lack of unity, while the Socialists were united.

Surprise Vote In Lackawanna, N. Y.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—In Lackawanna, N. Y., where there is no Socialist party organization and no campaign was waged and where former members of the Socialist party filed an eleventh hour ticket, an average of 207 votes were cast for the Socialist candidates in the election on November 8.

In the city of Tonawanda, N. Y., where no Socialist ticket has been run in ten years, the name of a Socialist candidate was written in the primaries. This candidate polled 85 votes.

Finn Socialist Made Minister to Germany By Adolph Salmi

Suola Wuolijoki, minister of foreign affairs in the Finnish Socialist administration, has been appointed minister to represent Finland in Berlin, a recent Helsingfors dispatch states. The entrance of a Socialist in the diplomatic service illustrates how firmly the Socialists have become established in the government of Finland. Although, not a majority, but instead the largest party, the Socialists are enabled to hold power because the Swedish bloc in the Finnish parliament steadfastly supports the Socialists.

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Have you a Debs Memorial Voluntary Assessment Stamp in your book?

Socialist Victory In France Soon

PARIS.—A Socialist victory is seen in France in the next general election as the result of action voted by the overwhelming majority of the Radical Socialist party, which is a liberal kind of a Socialist party, in its recent convention here.

Edouard Daladier, president of the party and champion of a policy which would put the liberals in alliance with the Socialist party instead of the reactionary bloc of the right, won every point of his policy by a large majority. When Franklin-Bouillon, leader of the faction favoring alliance with the right, left the hall following his defeat, only fifteen of his supporters followed him in this bolt.

Daladier's program means that in the approaching election when the liberals vote in the first ballot they will throw their votes behind the Socialist candidate in the second ballot. The Socialists have adopted the same program regarding the liberals. After the election these two parties will cooperate in parliament so far as their principles permit and will unite to oppose the reaction.

An important plank in the liberal platform is a pledge to oppose any attempt of the bankers to force the publicly-owned state monopolies of France to denationalize and become property of private corporations. The liberals are in favor of a strong peace program, social reforms and oppose religion in politics and any alliance between the church and state.

Labor Elects 26 Representatives In Japan Election

First Vote Cast by Newly Enfranchised Workers Shocks Rulers

Japan's workmen cast their first ballots at the elections of members of the prefectural councils in September, and the results were anxiously watched as the first test of the new universal manhood-suffrage law. The government part led, with 152 candidates elected; the Opposition won 522 seats—a closer vote than was anticipated. But the most interesting sign was the appearance for the first time at a Japanese election of official representatives of Labor.

The Government's repression of early attempts at the formation of Farmer-Labor parties had succeeded in splitting the Labor forces into four groups; but the embryonic parties nominated 200 candidates and elected 26 of them—twice as many as the Government expected. The Ronoto, most radical and outspoken of the groups, led by Ikuro Oyama, who last year was forced to resign his professorship of political science at Waseda University, won 23 of the 26 seats; and in the senator city of Kobe a Labor candidate led the poll.

Politics in Japan are notoriously corrupt; Mr. Oyama's "radicalism" consisted largely in the bitterness of his attack upon bipartisan graft. Even relatively conservative journals express the hope that the advent of these pioneer Laborites will exercise a restraining influence and look forward to further Labor gains in the parliamentary elections of 1928.

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Tammany Defeats Socialists Only by Wholesale Theft and Intimidation

Notable gains were made by the Socialist party candidates all along the line in the New York election. Despite these gains, every Socialist candidate, including Judge Panken, who was running for re-election for Municipal judge, were defeated in one of the rawest and most brutal election thefts in the history of the corrupt Tammany and Republican organizations.

The total Socialist New York City vote, based on the vote cast for alderman in 1925 and 1927 shows a fine increase of about 7,000. The 1927 vote also shows an increase of 4,000 votes over the Socialist vote for governor in 1924. This increase was registered despite the fact that the registration this year was far below that of 1925 and 1926.

By the narrow margin of 313 votes, Charles Solomon, Socialist candidate for assembly in the 23rd district, King's County State, failed of election on Tuesday. The contest was one of the most bitterly waged in years. Socialists made charges and gave substantial proof that there were hundreds of illegal voters in the district, brought in by the Tammany organization which expected a close result. As it appears from the result, the floaters "turned the trick" for Tammany.

Solomon made a great increase in the Socialist vote. Large increases, despite the lower registration than that of previous years, were the result wherever Socialists put in any activity. The gain of votes in the 2nd Judicial district, where Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken was robbed of re-election by stolen votes, was little short of phenomenal.

Whereas the Socialist candidates in the 2nd Judicial district in 1926 polled a total of 3,351 votes, Judge Panken this year polled 17,399. It is estimated that fully 5,000 votes were stolen from Panken.

In the eighth district, where Norman Thomas ran for Alderman, he polled 2,603 votes, whereas the Socialist candidate for the same office in 1926 polled 1,045. Closest in the 6th increased the Socialist vote from 846 to 1,515. Solomon increased the Socialist vote over 1926 from 2,810 to 4,514.

The Socialist gain was registered in every political division of New York and is shown in the following summary:

Division	1925	1927
Manhattan	9,711	11,445
Brooklyn	15,112	16,376
Queens	1,975	22,002
Richmond	2,167	3,706
	183	268
Total	48,173	52,847

The deliberate stealing of the election from several Socialist candidates was one of the most raw, flagrant and open piece of political crookedness put over by Tammany. It was cynically admitted by Tammany leaders.

When the widespread election frauds practiced against the Socialist party in the Judge Panken contest were reported to the Board of Elections, John R. Voorhis, who was then head of the Board of Elections, had the following comment to make:

"The Socialists have complained that the Republican and the Democrats were trying to do them, and the Socialists were probably correct. There's nothing new in it."

This comment by Mr. Voorhis was reported in the New York Herald-Tribune and in the New York Times. Judge Panken was the special victim of these open frauds and would undoubtedly have been elected in anything like a fair election. He was defeated by the voting of at least 5,000 floaters and the practice of wholesale intimidation at the polling places by Tammany thugs despite the fact that the Socialist vote in his district increased five-fold!

Typical scenes around the polling places are thus described by The New Leader, Socialist weekly:

"The polling places of the 4th assembly district during the day and late in the evening, when the official returns were being recorded, were scenes of the most

(Continued on page 2)

Big Socialist Vote, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

(From The Buffalo Courier-Express)

Niagara Falls.—(One of the surprises of the election was the big vote polled by Albert E. Young, Socialist candidate for mayor, who was known with the completion of the tabulation of election figures. He was given a total of 1,721, the largest vote ever cast for a Socialist candidate in this city.

Mayor William Laughlin, re-elected on the Democratic and Republican tickets, polled total of 9,322, of which 6,215 were Republican votes and 3,107 Democratic.

WHAT SOCIALISTS ARE AFTER

Full opportunity for full development is the unalienable right of all.

WE DEMAND.

The earth for all the people.

The machinery of production and distribution for all the people.

The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people.

The elimination of rent, interest, and profit, and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people.

Cooperative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic.

The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN.

This is Socialism.

—Eugene Victor Debs.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Our Splendid Gains

American Socialists have every cause to jubilate and celebrate and say, "I told you so."

The glorious Socialist victory in Reading, the healthy gain registered in New York City despite refusal of Tammany hirelings to count thousands of votes and the intimidation of thousands of other voters; the Buffalo result where nearly 75,000 American citizens voted for an avowed Socialist who made his campaign largely on the issue of Socialism; surprising and unsolicited gains in small towns, showing a reawakening desire among voters for the return of a party occupying the strong oppositional position of the Socialist Party—all these are signs that we have not seen before since the war.

At a time when interest in Socialist party organization is still at a low ebb, this swing of the voters to support of Socialist candidates undoubtedly marks the beginning of the tide of cooperation of the soil for Socialist work and organization in the immediate future.

Reading has a population of about 115,000. It is the first city in the United States to pass completely under the control of a Socialist administration. A movement that is attaining the stage of growth is not dead and will not die, despite the outward apathy of many Socialists. We are just at the beginning of a new epoch of Socialist progress in America.

The election indicates that the only thing the matter with the Socialist movement in America is the old Socialist activity. The public attitude is changing. The time is here with us once more when encouraging results can be obtained by determined, consistent, constructive work. We can now have many Readings if the Socialists will get together, organize and get busy. We can make 1928 the beginning of a far stronger and under Socialist movement than the one before the war.

The Enemy Also Strengthens Position

While glorious news of the now rapidly rising tide of Socialism comes from countries all over the world, Fascism the antithesis of Socialism and its deadly international enemy, has within the week formally dropped the last form and pretense of democracy from the structure of Italian government and the Mussolini dictatorship has become a savage and sinister fact.

The last act that completes the Fascist dictatorship is Mussolini's repudiation of his own former principle—representation in the government by syndicates or economic groups. All independent representation or power of syndicates in government has been dropped. Only such "representatives" of syndicates as are passed upon by Mussolini's grand council and accepted will be received into the government. Only the most loyal Fascists and the most loyal Fascists are the council of government—only those who bend completely to the will of Mussolini and are already a part of his dictatorship.

The former plan was representation by syndicates under a system wherein Mussolini and his council made enough appointments to insure their control of government. Under the new arrangement Mussolini in actual effect makes all appointments. Groups of workers, bankers, merchants or professionals can elect no one whom Mussolini does not happen to want.

This change is frankly designated as the end of democracy in Italy by the Fascist themselves.

A Deadly Parallel

In one of its resolutions at Los Angeles the American Federation of Labor puts Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy in the same class, designating both as being as bad in every way as Fascism.

Even the rapid capitalist and anti-labor American newspapers cannot stomach such an obviously unfair and prejudicial classification. In a recent editorial the Chicago Daily News compares the two systems as follows:

"The Fascist scheme is more radical and—in theory at least—much less democratic than the Russian system of pyramidal soviet representation, the foundation of which is the village or the factory soviet."

Surely, a labor organization ought to be as fair to a workers' government, no matter how much they may disagree with it, as the out and out organs of capitalism.

Mussolini and Our

Press Are Exposed

By Ernest Untermyer

(In The Milwaukee Leader)

George Seligman, former correspondent of the Chicago Tribune in Rome, expelled by Mussolini for telling the truth about Fascism, paints in the November number of Harper's Magazine a picture of Fascist censorship which confirms The Leader's serious reports.

Incidentally, Seligman makes a grave charge against the majority of the American newspaper correspondents in Italy. He declares that most of them have accepted Mussolini's bribe of 6,000 cable words per month free of charge, and that for this reason those American newspapers print only articles in praise of Fascism.

Seligman also confirms The Leader's view to the effect that items of the highest news value are suppressed by American news agencies with the specious excuse that "American readers are not interested."

We should like to hear what the big American newspapers and news agencies have to say in reply to Seligman. Surely they cannot pass such charges in silence. They come from one of their own best men.

Seligman adds that most of the foreign correspondents in Italy agree with him. They would prefer to tell all the important news as it happens, but they cannot afford to lose their jobs.

The most damning part of this censorship is that Mussolini has the backing of American millionaires and that he can tell lies to American readers because American bankers benefit by his censorship.

To Expose Al Smith

As A Tammany Tool

(Editorial, The New Leader, New York)

In spite of criminal intimidation and herding of "floaters" to the polls, the Socialist Party made substantial increases in its vote. Judge Panken was re-elected and Charles Solomon was elected to the council of government—only those who bend completely to the will of Mussolini and are already a part of his dictatorship.

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Capitalism Blurs

By Oscar Ameringer

(In The Milwaukee Leader)

For an exhibition of prize boobyism mixed with unadulterated gall, I recommended the meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce recently held in West Baden, Indiana.

Birth control was denounced as constituting an obstacle to the free supply of work hands and cannon fodder. Sinclair Lewis and his book, *Elmer Gantry*, was raked over the coals as slandering everything that is sacred, including Billy Sunday and Aimée McPherson.

The Walsh resolution, asking that a committee of the United States Senate be appointed to investigate big business, is resolutely resented as "another step toward the invasion of the inalienable rights of the people." (Happy people, how they love your rights!)

Public ownership of public utilities is damned as a part of the "Bolshevik" plan to take over Russia. Public ownership and Russian Bolshevism are also responsible for the sad plight of England—I am quoting verbatim:

"Of all the nations today, I sympathize with and pity England the most. Overwhelmed by the enormity of its public debt, the nation today is facing financial ruin. At the beginning of the century, the country listened to government in business, opening the gate for the spread of Communism and Socialism in the nation."

Russia flooded the British Isles with their anarchistic theories and ideas and plunged them into debt beyond the very thought of their rulers.

The recent coal strike cost the nation over \$2,000,000,000, and resulted in a loss of life to many a poor working man. They were the victims of government in business. The imperialistic world had nothing to do with the ruin of Imperial England. Not a thing. But on with the dumbbell dance.

The child labor amendment to the constitution that has already passed both houses of congress is sheer stupidity, contrary to human instincts and the law of self-preservation, because nearly all of the successful men of today have worked hard before they reached the age of eighteen."

Therefore, let the little ones come unto our mills, factories and mines, and suffer them not, for of such millionaires are made.

This also explains why successful parents wish their children to study diurns with college attachments until they are twenty-four. Yearling colts hitched to cultivators also become more cultivated and successful draft horses than three-year-olds.

Then as conclusion, dogology and gnomology. Christ is the United States Chamber of Commerce resort to the principles of the sermon on the Mount and be decent, honest and thrifty in our contact with the rest of the world."

What loath, rot and hogwash served by hypocrisy and insincerity and was unto a people to asinine as to suffer itself to be led by asses.

The inevitable fruits of empire.

(From The Baptist Religious Publication, Chicago)

Some time ago in these columns attention was called to the proposed treaty between the United States and Panama as likely to be more than the people of Panama could swallow. (One item in the treaty provides that whenever the United States shall be at war Panama shall join this country in the war and shall be subject to the military control of the United States. The Herald of Gospel Liberty protests in a real human fashion against such a treaty. The protest is vain. "Our interests" demand that Panama be rendered impotent for war and as useful as possible to us in war. What about the interest of Panama? Such a question! When a weak nation falls within the circle of interest of an empire, it is to the interest of that nation to do what the empire has the power and will to compel it to do. Anybody need a diagram in order to see that truth? But where do the principles of freedom and justice come in? Pshaw! That question belongs to nineteenth century Americanism. It sounds like Abraham Lincoln. Fellow citizens, are we not in the war and to be practical not fast formulating the dream of empire? Must we talk empire or lose caste?

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Significance of

British Labor Gain

(From The Nation, New York)

The gain by the Labor Party in the local elections just held in England and Scotland has this year a particular significance. Labor majorities in many borough and town councils and boards of guardians, and strong Labor minorities in many more, have, since the war, been a source of bitter annoyance to the Conservatives. By their power to vote unemployment and poor relief, they have been able to bring the support of large working-class constituencies, a support which in the long run is translated into votes for Labor in the general election. Labor councilors, such as George Lansbury and Susan Lawrence, have gone to prison for voting appropriation for relief in their boroughs, which have been judged "unreasonable" by the auditors. Going to prison has, of course, only had the further effect of increasing their popularity and that of the Labor Party; both Susan Lawrence and George Lansbury are now in Parliament. The Conservatives have tried by various devices to discredit the local Labor authorities and limit their power over the "pazpayers' money." Parliament

Ontario State

Railway Success

TORONTO.—For the first time in its history, the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario railway, owned and operated by the province of Ontario, has been able this year to meet all interest charges out of earnings.

Announcement of this effect was made by Premier Ferguson last week, and the success of the railway has been favorably commented upon by the press of the province.

A check for \$1,200,000 was handed to the premier by George W. Lee, chairman of the T. & N. O. commission. This was \$500,000 in excess of last year.

Included in the outlay for the past year was the interest on all extensions, including the new Rouyn line, the James Bay extension north of Cochrane, and the new telephone line to Kapuskasing.

Announcement was also made that the Rouyn line was to be put into operation on November 28.

The T. & N. O. pays standard rates of wages and the workers are practically 100 per cent organized in the standard railroad labor unions.

SOVIET RUSSIA REVIEWS FIRST 10 YEARS OF NEW GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON.—The following statement was issued by the soviet information bureau today, the 10th anniversary of the Russian revolution:

"During the last five years industrial production has increased five-fold, the output per worker has more than doubled, and the number of workers in large scale industries has doubled. The monthly industrial output has been about equal to the pre-war output in the same time. The metal industry and ore mining are the only large industries still below the pre-war level. During the current fiscal year, begun Oct. 1, 1926, output will be expended for capital improvements in industry—over one-fourth of this for new plants.

Year's Harvest Good

"The soviet union this fall gathered its third successive good harvest. Grain production was somewhat lower than in 1926, the other crops larger in some instances by 50 per cent. Bumper crops of cotton and sugar beets brought production in these staples up to pre-war. About 35,000 tractors took part in this year's harvest as compared with 500 in 1913.

"During the last three years electrical expansion has been rapid. During the last year the large scale electrical plants furnished five times as much power as in 1913, the population of the soviet union was 146,304,031. This is several million greater than the population of the same territory in 1913, and a gain of 15,000,000 in the last six years. The trend to the cities has been marked. The population of Moscow has increased 500,000 and of Leningrad 550,000 in the last three years."

Foreign Trade Increases

"The co-operatives have grown enormously. The consumers' co-operatives have a membership of 12,000,000 and run upward of 60,000 stores, and the farm co-operatives have a membership of 7,000,000. Last year the co-operatives conducted 44 per cent of the internal trade and upward of 10 per cent of the foreign trade.

"The foreign trade turnover increased from \$199,000,000 in 1922-23 to about \$400,000,000 during the last fiscal year, with a favorable balance of \$30,000,000. Before the war, the trade turnover of the soviet empire was \$1,400,500,000. About 20 per cent of the imports last year came from the United States, compared with less than 6 per cent in 1913. American-soviet trade during the fiscal year ending Sept. 30 was about \$90,000,000 as compared with \$48,000,000 in 1913.

School Attendance Grows

"In the soviet empire four subjects out of five were illiterate. Illiteracy has now been reduced to 18 per cent among the male citizens of the soviet union and 53 per cent among the women. Expenditures for public education were \$344,516,000 last year as compared with \$125,140,000 in 1913. There were 3,000,000 more pupils in the public schools than before the war.

"The death rate in Moscow last year was half that of 1913.

"Under the census completed last spring, the population of the soviet union was 146,304,031. This is several million greater than the population of the same territory in 1913, and a gain of 15,000,000 in the last six years. The trend to the cities has been marked. The population of Moscow has increased 500,000 and of Leningrad 550,000 in the last three years."

"Railway mileage, is close to 47,500, compared with 35,500 miles in 1913, and 24,500 miles in 1917.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Armistice Day--A Rallying Call to the Forces of Peace

By Morris Hillquit

Nine years ago today the opposing armies in the great world war laid down their arms on all battle fronts as a preliminary step to a formal declaration of peace. Thus came to an end the most ghastly carnage ever inflicted on the human race.

In the four years of universal slaughter ten million young men, the flower of Europe and America, were killed while countless other millions were maimed and crippled for life. Whole regions were devastated. Cities were razed to the ground. Factories and churches were ruthlessly destroyed. The material foundation of Europe was ruined. It was as if an angry god had bereft mankind of reason and goaded it to self-destruction in a blind fury of general homicidal mania. The thin veneer of civilization which history had covered over the human race in a laborious process of thousands of years was suddenly removed, and man stood naked, ferocious and hideous like his prehistoric savage progenitor. The injury which the wholesale slaughter inflicted on the soul and moral fiber of mankind was infinitely greater than the appalling toll in life and property.

As yet we have by far not recovered from the physical and spiritual wreckage. But today, nine years after the great catastrophe, some of us at least are sufficiently sobered up to bring our heads in shame over the ignominious failure of human civilization and to vow that in as far as it lies in our power, there shall never again be war among nations.

For after all it is the citizen who in the last analysis determines the policy of governments and is responsible for war and peace.

It is now generally recognized and admitted that the great world war

was economic in motive and object. The ghastliest holocaust in human history was not a sacrificial offering to lofty ideals but a sordid slaughter for material enrichment. It was but the most tragic and brutal phase in the competitive warfare between the ruling classes of the leading nations for the wealth of the world.

It is this reckless and dangerous game of international capitalist rivalry, the imperialist policy of all leading governments that the peace-loving people must sharply watch in the first instance. They must insist persistently and emphatically that every citizen trading in a foreign country or investing his money in it in the expectation of personal gains, must do so at his own risk and that their government will under no circumstances hazard a single human life in defense of his commercial interests. That vital principle must be established uniformly and firmly in time of peace. When our armed forces have invaded a weak neighboring country in the interests of a banking group or when our government has brought the professional soldiers and more recently because of private claims of some of our predatory fellow citizens to the exploitation of foreign natural resources it may be too late to prevent another international conflagration.

And we must insist on immediate drastic limitation and early complete abolition of all armament on land and sea and in the air. In all lands the professional advocates of "preparedness" have ever covered their militaristic minds or selfish business designs in a cloak of super-patriotism and made a noisy and deafening appeal for "national safety." So

long as modern nations rely for their safety on their military preparedness each country will always try to outstrip the other in armament, and the terrible war whose end we commemorate today has amply demonstrated that rival armament inevitably leads to ultimate armed conflict.

There is not a dispute between nations that cannot be settled by arbitration rather than by war; by the reasoned judgment of men rather than by blind and brutal force. The people of the world must everywhere demand the invariable substitution of arbitration for war, and because the United States is the strongest and safest of nations the American people must take the lead in the battle for humanity and civilization.

And lastly we must banish militarism from our spirit as well as from our government. Let us cease teaching our children the glory of war, but let us inculcate in their young and pliable minds the love of peace and the sacredness of human life.

Let us cease paying eternal tribute to the victorious leaders on the field of slaughter and let us turn our thoughts more often and more reverently to the teachings of human kinship and brotherly love.

Let us firmly resolve that the late war, the most ferocious and destructive in human history, shall be the last, for only thus may it come to pass that the rivers of blood shall not have flown in vain, that the cry of anguish from millions of agonizing throats shall not be lost in the wilderness of the ages, and that the 11th day of November, 1918, shall mark a turning point in the history of man, the turning point from savagery to civilization, from madness to reason, from war to peace.

Rise of a Great Union Told Over the Debs Radio Station

Editor's Note

WEED, Debs Radio Station in New York, is functioning splendidly as a dispenser of light for Labor, Liberalism and Socialism. Messages of utmost interest and importance are being flashed almost nightly to thousands of listeners. The following account of the remarkable rise of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has wrought wonders in the industry. Benefits which its activities have brought about have extended not only to the workers, but to the industry itself, to the communities in which the industry is located, and to the consuming public. The importance of its activities can be judged by the fact that the making of women's clothes is the largest single industry in the State of New York.

Instead of the sixty and seventy hour and often limitless week, union workers in the garment industry enjoy the five-day week. As a matter of fact, the dressmaker in New York City is the first to win the five-day week in this country. Instead of wages which began at \$3, our Union members begin at a minimum wage which is compatible with the standard of living. Instead of arbitrary discharge and industrial feudalism, we have a system of industrial democracy—the worker is represented through a shop committee and chairman in the matter of price adjustments and of grievances. The anarchistic helter-skelter of sweat-shop became regulated through a Joint Board of Sanitary Control, an agency unique in American industrial history. The workers rose from the rank of the worst-paid and most sweated to that of the most highly unionized in the country. Both shops and workers moved out of the slum districts.

But the program of the Union was not limited to wages and hours, fundamental though these are. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was the pioneer in a comprehensive program of workers' education. It was the first labor union to establish its own Health Center, at which medical and dental service were furnished at cost. It was the first labor union to work out a plan of unemployment insurance for the workers. It was one of the pioneers in labor banking, and now controls the International Union Bank at Fifth Avenue and 21st Street, New York. It has not stopped with its own industry, or membership, or country; it has contributed heavily to other labor organizations here and abroad during periods of struggle, and to every humanitarian cause over the world. As a matter of fact, recognizing the importance of the radio, it donated heavily toward this very radio station.

So significant have been the accomplishments of this organization that it is known the world over. When distinguished public men visit this country, they inquire about our Union and ask specifically to visit the remarkable Unity Summer Village owned, operated and controlled by the members of the Union. This Unity village is a summer home, in the heart of the Pocono Range of Pennsylvania, covering hundreds of acres of land, and housing in its cottages, five hundred members at a time. Here the sewing-machine girl who a generation ago hardly knew what the grass looked like, can take her vacation in a beautiful summer home. There are words to praise it.

Fifteen years ago, the men, women and children who toiled to make the coats, the gowns the American woman wore, were the most pitied and pitiable of all workers in America. The man who earned \$15 a week had to work twelve hours a day, seven days a week, in a dirty unsanitary shop and then after working hours, had to bring work home for his wife and children. Little girls of thirteen and fourteen worked seventy hours a week under unspeakable conditions for \$3 per week from which deductions were made for thread, for needles, for fines. This was in the hectic busy season. In the dull season, when there was no pay, the garment worker stood on bread lines and was a heavy applicant for charity. He was forced to live in the slums. Death and sickness were frequent visitors. Tuberculosis was rampant amongst the garment workers, and it is no exaggeration to say that the garments which the consuming public bought were literally tainted with disease germs, and with the blood of the poor men and women who made the dresses. It was this menace of the white plague, together with a public realization of the high social cost in life of the sweatshop, which brought public sympathy and interest to an investigation of the industry. Then came the terrible Triangle Fire in which 146 girls lost their lives through the greed of employers who had locked them in.

So pitiful were their conditions, and so large the public interest involved, that when twenty thousand dressmakers walked out in protest in 1909, prominent men and women from every walk of life aided in the struggle. In this strike and in those which followed in the cloak, underwear and other branches of the trade, we find enrolled in the strikers' cause such women as Zona Gale, the author, Lillian D. Wald, Ida M. Tarbell, Rev. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Miss Anne Morgan, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Mrs. Raymond Robins. From the long list of names of judges, lawyers, engineers, medical men, university professors, financiers, governors, mayors, United States Senators we can pick at random the names of Governor Alfred E. Smith, Louis D.

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Relation of Workers' Education To Independent Political Action

Editor's Note

To many, workers education in the United States as conducted by the trade union movement seems like a ship without a rudder. It has not found itself. It has no main purpose. It is merely drifting. Fannia Cohn, the able secretary of the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and the vice-president of the Workers Education Bureau, here describes the need for a unifying ideology in the movement if it is to equip the worker with the knowledge that will count in changing his status to one of genuine power and freedom.

Fannia M. Cohn

(Secretary of the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union)

LIKE the labor movement itself, workers' education must have its own natural development, a development influenced by general economic conditions as they act upon the workers' lives. The discussions in the classrooms will naturally reflect the economic conditions of the country whether they be those of mythical "prosperity" or of actual unemployment. The economic classes will inevitably consider the position in which the workers—that is to say, the particular group of them carrying on the discussion—find themselves. There are, however, a great many additional influences acting upon the contents of the curriculum of any workers' college, such as the economic, social, cultural, emotional, racial background of the group in the numerical majority in the college.

If, however, we follow along the lines of natural development entirely, then our workers' education must be centered exclusively upon the development of the worker from place to place, from group to group. I should like to emphasize, in passing, that it is at no point our idea to standardize a workers' education curriculum—we realize that education must be adapted to the mental, and must reflect the interests of the group involved. Nevertheless, if workers' education is to have a distinctive character and is to serve the labor movement and the progress of society as a whole, then it must have a central ideology to act as a

unifying force in the labor movement, bringing together the workers of our whole continent, who live from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Ideology of Labor Education

Such an ideology would include the workers' desire for power to enable them as an organized group to function effectively on the economic, political, social and intellectual fields, and for a voice in the management of industry, since it affects not only the management, but the workers in the industry, and the public as consumers. It would express the workers' desire, too, for a voice in the shaping of our international policy; for these affect the lives and happiness of tens of millions of men, women and children, and for the placing of our vast natural resources at the disposal of our entire population. Such an ideology would naturally not rest upon temporary conditions, nor be affected much by prosperity or depression.

Political Action

To develop such an ideology, the labor movement will have to set to formulate a social program based not on personalities, but on ideals. To achieve this program, the labor movement will need to create complicated but efficient machinery. This machinery may involve independent political action, but a labor movement will be brought into being by many independent forces. It cannot be born until the workers as an organized group develop a desire for power—to enable them to direct their own lives and achieve the ultimate aims that will advance the progress of humanity. Then, too, as long as the program of the labor movement consists of the temporary every-day needs of the workers alone—though, of course, these must always be its main impulse—so long the workers will feel no need for independent political action.

More Lofly Ideals Needed

The present state of mind of the millions of American workers and of the conditions in which the labor movement finds itself in this country are easily understandable to students of the American labor movement and American history. There is encouragement, however, in the scores of men and women, active officers and rank and file members of trade unions, who feel the need for

this ideal to hold up before the labor movement as an inspiration for forward motion. They realize that if the millions of unorganized workers in our basic industries are to be attracted by trade unionism, then those millions already in the movement must be more inspired by it, more ready to make sacrifices for its further development.

Industry Has Adjusted Itself to Post-War Development

These persons realize that in the postwar period industrialism in our country has adjusted itself to the new world conditions brought into being, in large part, by the Great War. They know it has perfected its managerial machinery, become more efficient, changed its front—become, in other words, the new management.

They know it absorbs most of the vigorous talent our universities turn out, and supports our schools of commerce and business more actively than ever before. They know it expects its recruits to management to be posted not only on mathematics but also on the firm's profits, but prepared in the social sciences and particularly in psychology. Big business has come to realize the value of a knowledge of the human mind and of what influences human behavior and the actions of men.

The New Paternalism

This training in social studies is all needed by the new management, for it is endeavoring to show a new—benevolent—attitude towards its workers, an attitude exemplified among other things, in the development of company unions, of various benefit schemes for workers—old age pensions, unemployment benefits, social recreational activities. And all this, these interested members of the labor movement realize, tends to keep the worker in a state of dependence, to keep him in the "paternalistic" kingdom.

The Nature of Paternalism

To counteract this movement on the part of our industrialists, these interested workers are coming to feel, we shall have to enlighten all the workers about his modern industrial attack on trade unions, to expose all the schemes intelligently, to show the workers how dearly they pay for the improvements offered them by their employers in the loss of their economic, spiritual and

intellectual independence, as a part of a great social movement in society. In addition, these workers feel that we must do something to show labor in general that the employers' promises to the workers are mythical—their unemployment insurance is not insurance; their old age pensions are not pensions; that indeed, most of the improvements offered are merely promises which do not stand before the law, so that sick and death benefits may never be collected by the worker or his family. To expose all this requires an intelligent, well-informed trade union leadership, re-

Support Labor Colleges

quires persons with clear vision, with an intelligent understanding of social and economic conditions and the forces molding them.

By A. J. Muste

(Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood Labor College and Vice-President, American Federation of Teachers)

By observing the course the trade union movement has taken from the beginning we may get an idea perhaps of the reaction in which it is moving, and therefore of the part the trade union is likely to play in the new social order.

Three Stages of Trade Union Development

The evolution of the trade union has recently been interestingly set forth by Dr. Horace M. Kallen in his book, *Education, the Machine and the Worker*. By first intention, to paraphrase Dr. Kallen very freely, the union is a defensive instrument spontaneously formed by the workers to protect themselves and their families against the degradation of their standards of living forced upon them under the anarchic conditions prevailing with the coming of the industrial revolution in a given industry or group of industries.

When the union has succeeded in establishing certain standards as to wages, hours and conditions, it comes to be by second intention a policeman in the industry, on the one hand preventing the employer from withdrawing, under the stress of competition, conditions which he has been compelled to grant, and on the other hand preventing the individual worker, under the stress of the struggle for existence, from consenting to the lowering of conditions, accepting lower wages for example or working overtime.

Insensibly the union passes into a third stage. It comes to be accepted as an integral part of the industrial machine. It is the one agency really interested in the well-being of the industry as an industry and not as a source of private and immediate profit or wages. It thus seeks to preserve and enhance the industry as the basis of the livelihood and life of the workers. It comes to have constructive interest and relation to the problem of efficient production.

The inference is plain. The organization of the workers which even under capitalism tends to become a necessary instrument in the process of production will in the new social

order be the instrument through which, to a very large extent at any rate, production is carried on.

The Russian Experience

When one inquires somewhat more closely however as to how the trade union is to discharge its role in industry under a new social order, we find in the Russian experience since the war some developments that are worth noting. At the time when the New Economic Policy was under discussion, there were considerable differences of opinion among Russian leaders as to the role which unions were to fill in the Soviet State. Roughly, there were three groups of opinion. One group said that the unions are the organization of industry and are also all the state that is needed in the new social order. They are to control production, distribution and finance, and are to be the instruments of such government as is required. At the other extreme stood a group which said, "The state is now the workers' state. It must control everything and since it is a workers' state the producers need no protection against it and consequently need no unions any more."

Between the two stood a group to whom Lenin belonged and whose view prevailed. On the one hand, they denied that the unions constituted the sole form of organized society and should monopolize all economic and political functions. They held that the state must control industry. On the other hand they contended that unions were still necessary as the means through which the producers bargained for wages and working conditions with the employer, whether he be a private capitalist or a state trust, and as the means through which the worker makes his democratic contribution to the industrial process.

The Union and the Management

The union then represents the producer, the man on the job. It is accepted, welcomed, not merely tolerated. It has very wide and substantial powers. It conducts wage negotiations, largely determines the hours of labor and conditions in the shop, through it the men on the job are habitually consulted about production processes; even on questions of the credit to be allocated to a given industry the union in that industry is consulted.

SOCIAL CONTROL

By A Middle West Parson

An imaginary council held to devise ways and means to keep the common herd under the control of the owning class.

SUGGESTED BY ROSS "Social Control" which states in the language of philosophy and supports by ample data every idea (and much more) to be found in this poetic resume.

PERSONAE
The Capitalist.
The Lawyer.
The Editor.
The Teacher.
The Politician.
The Labor Spy.
The Policeman.
The Parson.

SOCIAL CONTROL

Dramatized.
The characters are to be dressed to fit their parts.
The Capitalist in rich attire.

The Lawyer in the old fashioned Court costume, powdered wig etc.
The Editor with large pen and eye shade and glasses.
The Teacher with bow tie and cap as worn on University fete days.
The Politician with flashing parade of dress suit.
The Labor Spy with display of union button.
The Policeman in exaggerated uniform.
The Parson in the robes of the clergy.

Let the scene be one in which all are grouped seated around the Capitalist who sits in center. The others in irregular order. Put the parson behind the rest, partly concealed, and stand before the Capitalist and speak his part, addressing him directly but with the audience in mind.

THE DIALOGUE

Capitalist. (Seated)
The herd runs wild. Your task is now
To make the mass to humbly bow
To me; to see in me their friend
While I use them for selfish end.

Now, each of you, tell me your plan;
Both what you think and how you can
Fit each his plan to serve me best
And yet each one to aid the rest.

My Master! Lord of jobs and bread!
It shall be done as you have said.
My part shall be to use the law
To keep the common herd in awe.

I'll make the Law seem true and just;
Quote ancient rules. The people must—
Be made to feel the Law gives all.
An equal chance. For this they'll fall.

Oh! Captain of our jobs! Great Boss!
The Press has power. I'll shrewdly toss
Contention to the common herd;
Confuse their minds by printed word.

I'll print your deeds as wisely done.
You'll shine to me like kindly sun
Warm smiling flowers; and day by day
Your honest worth I'll well portray.

I'll take the minds of growing youth
And make them feel that, in all truth,
They must become by work and thrift
Like to yourself; and as years drift

Which bring them to full manhood's pride
I'll make them long to stand beside
Yourself; and your their idol be
To train them in cupidity.

Kind Master! I will use the State.
I'll make each voter feel so great.
So strong and stalwart through his vote
That your deep scheme he'll never note.

lats to realize the value to them of university trained executives, before they are willing full heartedly to support both morally and financially the business colleges where these executives get their education. Our trade unionists hope that it will take much less time for the labor movement to realize the advantage of having a well informed and educated leadership, and to support full heartedly, both morally and financially, its own educational institutions, institutions to which we can send our young men and women who have shown inherent qualities of leader-

ship while serving the labor movement in many capacities—whether as officers or members of the rank and file. There in the workers' classes, they will be given the opportunity to enrich their knowledge of the social force that the labor movement is in our modern society; and to infuse in themselves a new spirit that will give them a better outlet for their imaginations and fit them for better service to the cause of the labor movement and to humanity as a whole.

PLACE OF THE TRADE UNION IN THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

By A. J. Muste

(Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood Labor College and Vice-President, American Federation of Teachers)

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WHAT SHOULD BE THE ISSUES OF THE 1928 CAMPAIGN?

Clarissa A. Kneeland

(Prather, California)

The three most important issues for the American people are:
First—The taking over for public ownership and operation, of everything that is of vital importance to the public.

Second—The absolute quitting and outlawing of war, regardless of what any other nation may see fit to do.
Third—The restoring and preserving of our civil liberties, as they are guaranteed to us in our constitution. In regard to the Volstead act which is already on our statutes, it should be rigidly enforced, not repealed!

That it can be enforced Gifford Pinchot, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania and many others, are abundantly able to testify. And even as half heartedly, crazily and lop-sidedly as the enforcement has been in the past, even so, the act has been a benefit to the country as a whole.

From what I can see and hear it is my firm conviction that the prohibition is not only of vast benefit to the working class (and all other classes) of today, but that it will be of even less value to the children who are yet to be born.
And their rights should stand first.

George L. Collins

Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

I would give the following as the three issues to be stressed:
1. Economic imperialism.
2. Withdrawal U. S. troops from China, Haiti and Nicaragua.
3. Fix the date on which the Philippines will be given independence.

4. Hands off Mexico.
5. Public ownership and democratic operation of:
a. Municipal services.
b. Mines.
c. Railroads.
3. Civil liberty.

John H. Matheson

(Missouri, Montana)

Regarding the formulation of a program that will fit the needs of the farmer I suggest: A standard price for what commodities he must purchase and a standard price for at least five commodities which he produces and sells. This seems to me the only sure solution of his problem and the idea appears to be very well received where ever I have presented it to farmer organizations at which I have appeared as a lecturer.

Farmer Sees Compounding of World Debts as Chief Menace

By R. C. Massey

(Boise, Idaho)

The World's Debt is steadily compounding. Under our privately owned money-system it can not stop growing greater and greater. Have you stopped to reflect, that if all our money were not borrowed and reborrowed into circulation, and interest paid therefor, on that money and again on the interest, there would soon not be money enough left in circulation to buy a postage stamp? Let's take a peek into this corner of the money business.

Producer Bears Burden

Somewhat (it can only be the producer) must bear this burden of increasing interest. Many producers add the interest to the price of their goods and pass it on in increased prices to the merchant. The merchant is compelled to add this same interest to the retail prices, and so he passes it on to the consumers. Both aim to add the interest, whether they are using their own money or borrowed money; for, whether it is their own or not, somebody in the vast majority of cases, had to borrow it at the outset, or it would not be in circulation.

These higher retail prices necessitate higher wages for labor, which again entail higher retail prices, which condition in turn pushes wages up a little higher, and so on ad infinitum. But it is the increased interest on this increasing debt that starts the vicious circle. As long as debts keep increasing, retail prices will keep mounting higher and higher, and the money cost of operation will continue increasing. Thus we have the cause. And while the cause is in active operation we must suffer the effect. That interest must be paid somehow, and some one must be the victim by having to pay it.

Re-Lending Process Endless

May I ask the rank and file readers, as well as the financial students, to forget for the moment the debtor-class, and to turn their attention to that small body of the population, the professional lending class, and note what they do with the interest on any principal that is paid to them on debts? We must study the financial question from this angle if we are to get a clear perspective. In studying the debtors' problem, their class is so large, the situation so complicated, it is difficult to trace from what source the money origin-

ally comes, with which even the interest on debts is paid. However, by keeping in mind the lending class by itself, we can see clearly why debts are compounding, and why the money market is so tight. If all our national money and mass credit are loaned into circulation for private profit. Many may accept this as the best possible system; but careful analysis discloses that debt-increase somewhere, must be the result. That is irrefutable.

Now let us take this said typical lending class, that class that forms less than one per cent of the population, that class that has billions of dollars loaned at interest, and let us see what these operators do with collected interest or any collected principal. When said interest or principal is paid to them on these debts, either that money must later be returned to circulation again, or be locked up, and the money and credit in circulation reduced by that amount. But that is not what happens. How then, is it returned to circulation? Small, but relatively insignificant, part of it is spent for pleasure and ostentatious living. But to get it fully into circulation again, practically all of it must be reborrowed. The professional lenders lend—get that clear—they lend; they do not spend.

New Debts Will Eat Up World

To collect and lock up this accumulating interest for any length of time, would take all money out of circulation, wipe out credit, paralyze business, stop productive effort and undermine civilization. To save it from being so locked up, it must be reborrowed on new debts. There is

no other alternative under the present system. This interest is reborrowed, and interest on interest, and that is why world debts are growing.

Both analysis and statistics prove this. And yet it is a thousand times better, for that reason, to keep debts compounding than to lock up the money and utterly paralyze business. Therefore we shall have to keep compounding debts in this way until we formulate a better plan, and until the people adopt it. If they do not like the "District Plan," they are urged to formulate something better. But we must give this debt-increasing system serious thought and attention.

Under the present system, when one man pays, does debt, another man borrows, and does borrow it. It must be borrowed either privately or publicly (i.e. by the nation, state or city) if the money is to be returned into circulation; and we ought to have, and need, even more money and credit in circulation, not less! But under the present system, when one party gets out of debt, it means that another must get that much farther in, or the nation be left without that money in circulation.

Although one party, by using extra good judgment, and with good luck, can win in a poker game, you must admit, for him to so win, another must lose. Likewise, although some parties, by using better than average good judgment and by having good luck, can win, can pay off their debts, nevertheless you must also admit, some one else must get that much further in debt if that money is to be returned to circulation. Dispute that if you can.

SAYS MONEY NATIONALIZATION IS FIRST STEP TO SOCIALISM

By W. Simpson

(Salt Lake City, Utah)

Permit me to say a few words in regard to the letters you have published from farmers and other comrades. I wish to say to me these letters give some very good ideas and show results in settling questions that are otherwise obscure about the course Socialism should take when the opportunity comes.

To me, and it seems, to others also the first thing is the nationalization of the money system. In other words Socialism will begin the minute the people get control of the money-issuing power, just as capitalism began in this country when that function was turned over to private banks.

Of course, we know that Socialism means public ownership, for the simple reason that the government cannot take over the money system and put the money it issues into circulation without hiring labor. If it did and loaned the money into circulation as the private banks do now, we would have a rotten system than we do now. But why speculate on the improbable. If the people own the money system, that is Socialism, and if the money system is privately owned, that is capitalism. So Socialism means public ownership and control of the money or economic system.

Socialist who knows how money can be issued to meet the full requirements of the people throughout the world? There is not a Socialist nation or state that has successfully tackled and handled this issue as yet. Probably because none has yet become sufficiently independent to attempt it.

I believe the time is near at hand when some combination of Socialist Nations will throw off the capitalist money scheme and issue Socialist money.

Therefore it is absolutely essential that we have a clear conception of the matter. Especially is this true in states that will soon be called upon to decide this matter.

In my opinion money is a mortgage on something of value. Gold or other metal has not a sufficient value to issue any large mortgage on. When the people issue their money which means Socialism has begun, they will have to mortgage the only wealth that they really own sufficiently great to cover or guarantee the mortgage and that is the improvements on the Earth. These permanent and useful improvements must all be insured and money issued on the insurance.

That is the only way a sufficient supply of money can be obtained to carry out a full program of Socialism.

I'll play my part and keep the mass
In turmoil; and the working class
I'll split in factions. You can name
All candidates: this is my game.

The Labor Spy

Great Lord of Cash! Most worthy sire!
Do not forget! The world's on fire
With new meals. The working class
Feels a strange power. Like sun-dried grass.

Before the sweep of fire flares bright
The workers burn with hope. New light
Shines in their lives. My subtle task
To thwart their plans: to wear a mask.

I'll paint the joys of Heaven's bliss
In colors bright. The woes of this
Short earthly life will seem but light
Compared with Heaven's glory bright.

I'll paint the lurid fires of hell
So vivid that the herd who dwell
In poverty forget their pain;
A hell to 'scape, a Heaven to gain.

Well said, dear parson! All you rest.
Must do your parts with faithful zest.
But when the day of crisis rears
Our final hope lies in the fears

Which superstition builds. When men
Think for themselves no longer then
That time must never come to pass.
Can any power control the mass
And hold as slaves the working class.

Great Captain of us willing tools!
The herd is mostly made of fools.
A good hard club is what they need
To make them pause and give due heed

To your desires, I'll awe their minds.
By show of power. One always finds
That one brave leader thrown in jail
Will make the rest to halt and quail.

Well said, my minions. Still I need
A shrewd plan. Some one must lead
The minds of men. Some inner power
Must rule their thinking every hour.

These outward acts can be controlled
By Law and State, by Sherriffs bold.
The inward thinking, that must be
Controlled by shrewd psychology.

My Lord! These other plans sound good.
But I've a scheme. One never should
Stake herd control on outward sign.
One needs a plan which looks benign.

That makes a man a slave in mind,
In all the other schemes you'll find
The fatal weakness. Slave! Not he
Who thinks free thoughts; such will be free.

"Belief" is your most potent charm
To keep the herd in hand. Your arm,
Though bulwarked by the Laws of States,
Sustained by Press, by scholars great.

Cannot control unless within
They and their larks the sense of aim
To trouble those who dare to dream
Of free bold actions. Now, my scheme,

Proved good through all the ages past,
Is that "Belief" shall deeply cast
Its spell o'er all. I'll rule the herd
By magic rite, by solemn word.